nowadays, are often prohibited by the local Communist authorities or simply limited to the square around the church or even to the interior of the church. 795 [796]

The Protestants, besides worshipping on Sunday in their church, often gather in their homes in the evenings and read the Bible, sing hymns, and tell pious stories. [771] Hungarian folklore is rich in legends and tales of which a common subject are the wanderings of Christ among the peoples in the company of Saint Peter. [538]

The celebration of the Catholic parish feast is an occasion for joyous festivities in which the non-Catholic inhabitants also take part. [796]

Intermarriages between Catholics and Protestants are frequent in spite of the restrictions imposed by the Catholic Church which require a reversalis, a document in which the non-Catholic party agrees that children issuing from the marriage shall be brought up in the Catholic faith. [585]

Although there are no permanent sects in Hungary that preach healing by faith, men and women who claim to have charismatic virtue and to heal through laying on of hands and prayer arise occasionally among the peasants and acquire a local and short-lived renown. They are called javaszerber or javasasszony. 756

With the 1945 land reform and later decrees, the Catholic Church has lost its large estates and even the land owned by local parishes were partly 659 793

659 793 distributed. The State, in return, pays a small amount (kongrua) toward the support of the clergy, the payment of which is conditioned by the individual priest's signing the oath of loyalty to the regime. The bulk of the income of the parish priest (plébános) must therefore come from the parish, who willingly support their priest in spite of their own financial problems. This economic dependency of the plébános upon the members of his church has not caused the loss of his disputed but so far unshaken prestige among his flock or even among the entire population of the village.

[795] As for the organisation of the churches, the Catholic hierarchy is headed by the Primat of Esztergom who presides over the Bench of Bishops comprising three erchbishops and fourteen bishops. The highest authorities of the Protestant churches are the synods held periodically; their highest administrative body is the konvent. There are four general districts, subdivided into counties which conform to the territorial units of the state administration.

771 665 The still powerful impact of the Church upon public life was demonstrated in recent years by the returns of the 1947 elections in Hungary. The completely inexperienced and unorganised Demokrata Néppárt, which had

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many kinds of subversive activity from mass uprisings to guerrilla warfare. The most reliable among them are the richer peasants, if for no other reason than the discrimination which the present government uses against them.

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The Christian churches by their very nature are opposed to the political practice of Bolshevism and are thus potentially subversive. From the purely ideological point of view, the Catholic Church is the most effectively anti-Communist by virtue of its own monolithic internal organization which virtually excludes any other spiritual allegiance than to the Church itself. Moreover, the Catholic Church is the only really nationwide organization in Hungary which can hardly be penetrated by Communist informers and agents because there is no elective principle among the clergy. The organization of the Church overflows the boundaries of social strata and could be powerful in coordinating subversive activities among groups otherwise socially isolated. Any serious attempt to overthrow the present government cannot dispense with Church backing.

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Allowing such subversive potentiality to the churches does not necessarily mean, however, that all the members of the clergy can be counted upon. Especially the more liberal Protestants have displayed

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a surprising willingness to compromise with the Communist regime. The politically neutral or pro-Communist segment of the Protestant clergy is a minority and the Protestants of Hungary have had their recent martyrs just like the Catholics. Nevertheless, this minority seems to be relatively larger than the number of Catholic priests collaborating with the Communists.

[208] Catholic priests join the Communist political propaganda only sporadically. Those who are willing to lend their signatures to "peace campaigns" and other propaganda are on the verge of excommunication--several of them have already suffered this penalty--and their flock is aware of these leanings and does not trust them like the "regulars."

The importance of the Church opposition to the State is most significant in the villages where the population is most devout and the priests have great prestige among their parishioners. Social activities, the few which are legally permitted, give the parish priest an opportunity to keep in close contact with the members of the community.

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From the geographical point of view, Hungary, the flattest among the so-called satellite countries, lends itself with difficulty

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

verted by the Western Church nearly 1000 years ago, and ever after considered herself as standing under the special protection of Rome.

This tradition is still alive, even in politics. The Holy See concedes to the King of Hungary, who bears the title of Apostolic King, special rights which it claims for itself in other countries, and has exercised its influence in favour of Hungary on many occasions. In return, the Catholic Church enjoyed a specially privileged position in Hungary up to modern times; and, although all the chief Confessions are to-day nominally equal, the Catholic Church is recognized as the senior among them. There are three Roman Catholic Archbishops of Hungary—the Archbishops of Esztergom, Kalocsa and Eger. The first-named, who is in fact always made a Cardinal, is the head of the Roman Church, and one of the most important figures in the country, particularly when, like the present Benedictine Archbishop, Cardinal Seredi, he is a commanding personality.

The Hungarian Succession Law provides that the King of Hungary, as wearer of the Holy Crown, must always be a Catholic. The chief national festival is St Stephen's Day (20 August), and the most venerated of all the national relics is the Holy Crown. Next to it comes the Sacred Right Hand of St Stephen, which was found preserved, in a mummified condition, about a century after the Saint's death, and is carried in procession every St Stephen's Day through Budapest with a dazzling array of gold-broidered vestments, uniforms and traditional costumes.

The Church is one of the largest landowners and

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

The Church is one of the largest landowners and 795
one of the richest institutions generally in Hun- 659
gary. Besides the Archbishops and the Bishoprics, many of the monasteries have received vast endowments from kings and other pious persons. The leading order is the Benedictine, whose chief house at Pannonhalma, in West Hungary, is an 'Arch-Abbey', not subject to the jurisdiction of any bishop. The Cistercians, Franciscans and Piarists also posses many monasteries. All education in 871
Hungary was in the hands of the Church up to 794
modern times, and these four Orders still conduct a large number of secondary schools. A considerable proportion of the primary schools are also 'confessional', that is, parochial schools.

There is a rather wide gap between the higher 793
and the lower Catholic clergy. The village priests are relatively poorly paid and have to live modestly. Nevertheless, they enjoy much esteem, and rightly, for they are a devoted and well-educated body of men.

THE PROTESTANTS. Considering the position held 795
by the Roman Catholic religion, it may seem strange that the confession which is commonly regarded as the most 'national', and which is nicknamed the 'Magyar faith', should be not the Catholic, but, on the contrary, the Calvinist. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries nearly the whole country was converted to Protestantism, the German colonists and a few others adopting the Lutheran confession, while most of the Magyars followed the doctrines of Calvin.

In the seventeenth century West Hungary, which was then under the direct rule of the Habs-

14: Evans S-3 (1950) 1953 EC1 Hungary EC1
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The Churches and Fascism

On the Catholic side there was the long tradition of power, privilege and wealth, but together with it many of the monks and lower clergy made considerable contributions to Hungarian education. Such national feelings as there were among the lower clergy were, however, completely overwhelmed by a hierarchy which stood for union with Austria and for the House of Hapsburg. This important tendency was rightly noticed in a publication issued by the Foreign Office to its staff during the war, and now available in the British Museum, which stated that " the Roman Catholic Church tends to legitimism.".‖

The wartime record of the Hungarian churches was a mixed one. The Horthy dictatorship, which was a part of the Rome-Berlin Axis, had found a willing ally in the Catholic Church. The Church acted as one of its chief spokesmen, particularly among the poor of the villages. Subservience to the existing state of things (large feudal estates and millions* of landless beggars) and bloodcurdling tales of the Red Bogy had been preached from the pulpits on behalf of a narrow ruling class and its foreign friends.

Generally speaking, the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy was that of the ruling class, prepared to co-operate with Hitler to the degree to which Hungary might gain from the process but expressing dissatisfaction when the process was reversed, and the result was that certain voices were raised within the Catholic Church expressing dissatisfaction with the racial laws and, after 1943, talking of Hungary's " craving for peace."

It was for reasons of this kind that eventually some of the Church leaders, Catholic and Protestant, were put under restraint by the Germans although they never at any time made any protest against Hungary's part in the war against the U.S.S.R.; indeed, Catholic newspapers criticised Great Britain for making an alliance with " atheists." Some of the Protestant opposition was, however, more far reaching and it was during the war that the influence of the anti-Nazi Karl Barth grew by leaps and bounds, and not a few of the Protestant ministers opposed strongly the deportation of the Jews.

When, eventually, the Soviet Army liberated the country the Ecumenical Press Service (December, 1944) reported:—

" At Cluj a delegation of Russian officers paid a visit to János Vásárhelyi, Calvinist Bishop, informing him that he could continue to officiate unhindered. Simultaneously the Moscow Radio broadcast an appeal to the Roman Catholic priests and Protestant pastors in Hungary to continue their work. Fleeing from the country the Germans took away everything movable and burned historic buildings. At Kecskemét two colleges were

‖ The idea of restoring the Hapsburgs.

* This sounds exaggerated but it is true. There were 3,000,000 landless peasants.

It was the man who thought like this that emerged as the outstanding leader of the Reformed Church after the war and who became Bishop of Budapest. He was ably seconded by János Péter, later elected to the largest Reformed See, that of Debrecen. When, therefore, the question of school nationalisation was raised the leadership of the Hungarian Reformed Church decided that this was not one of " faith " and not one on which a fundamental dispute between Church and State would be right. It was, therefore, prepared to compromise and the resulting Church-State agreement is sufficiently important to be given in full. It was signed on October 7, 1948.

The Agreement

The Government of the Hungarian Republic and the delegated Committee of the Synodal Council of the Hungarian Reformed Church, in order to arrive at a peaceful and correct settlement of the questions which affect the relations between the State and the Church, have made the following agreement:—

1. With the view of a new regulation of the Church position in the Hungarian Republic, the Government of the Hungarian Republic and the Hungarian Reformed Church will appoint a permanent Joint Commission to present, for enactment, a draft of new laws affecting religious matters, particularly those concerning the religion of children. The necessary modifications in church policy, according to the new national Act concerning religious matters, will be enacted by the legislation of the Church.

2. The Government of the Hungarian Republic declares in this instance also that the Legislation and Government of the Hungarian Republic has ensured, defended and, by Act 33 of 1947, significantly enlarged the free exercise of religion and, by contributing to the personal and real expenditure of the Church, has rendered possible the maintenance of the present framework of the Church's life.

3. The Government of the Hungarian Republic regards the following activities, according to existing legal relations, as pertaining to the free function of church life; the holding of divine services in church buildings or in other suitable public buildings, in homes and in open spaces, the holding of Bible classes in church buildings, in schools, in private homes, in church halls; the colportage of Bibles and tractates; the holding of congregational or national church conferences, evangelistic meetings, the compulsory religious instruction in public schools and the charitable work of the church. To this end it permits the free use of class rooms and other suitable premises of public schools, wherever this may be necessary, outside regular school hours, subject to agreement with the

793 The Bishop, János Péter, said that all was going well there.
[777] The outstanding problem was church re-education, the retraining that is to say of church workers, so that they would be really effective in a situation that was vastly different from the one in which they had received their training, and courses were therefore being run both for clergy and for lay workers. Their theological approach, he said, was in general a complex of Karl Barth and Ragaz.*

[874] The Reformed Church now has four theological colleges and four secondary schools. Its clergy were now swinging over to the cause of peace although in their general social outlook they tended to be conservative. The conservative elements as such had few constructive suggestions to offer in the present situation and so more and more the effective leadership of the church was passing into the hands of more progressive pastors.

Questioned about the Lutheran Bishop Ordass, who was released from prison before completing his sentence, Bishop Péter said that he was living in his bishop's house on a pension while his successor as bishop continued to live in his former parish. Ordass himself could have a parish if he wanted one.

346 874 The Reformed Church buildings dominate the centre of Debrecen. The cathedral is a large building of the last century and, following Calvinist custom, is rather bare. The large hymnary in the pulpit is of the new, 1948 edition. The college (where the National Assembly met in 1848 and 1945) was started in the sixteenth century, although, while some of its buildings go back to the seventeen century, most of them are of later date. It is an extremely large building and houses both the Theological College and the Boys' Secondary School. The theological course lasts five years with a further one year of practical work in parishes. There are at present 100 pupils at the college. At the time of my visit they were engaged in the work of the annual "Congregation" or meeting in which both staff and students participated, all being free to express their point of view. One of the professors was extremely eager to hear of current developments in New Testament studies in Britain.

771 In Budapest Bishop Bereczky said that the church revival, which had been discussed in a previous visit in 1949, had developed not only in small, zealous groups, but in the whole church and most of the ministers have been reinvigorated. More and more do they understand that the service of the church in a socialist country can only come from those who have some knowledge and appreciation of socialism.

874 The bishop said that the theological schools were a very bright part of the picture and his views were borne out on a subsequent visit with him and its principal to the Calvin College in Budapest. Certainly nobody could have seemed happier than the theological

* The Swiss Christian Socialist.

874 students whose rooms showed the customary diverse interests of of youth—in learning, sport and the girl at home. Their opportunities of learning here are considerable because, apart from lectures, the library is quite outstanding and is as well equipped with modern literature as it is with Calvin and De Beza first editions and early Hungarian Bibles.

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Bishop János Péter, member of the World Council of Peace.

794 One of the most outstanding achievements of the Hungarian 204 Protestant Churches is their Church Press. They run separate church newspapers but they maintain a combined Church Press Office which issues periodical bulletins in English and German but whose most important work is the regular supply of church news to all the Hungarian Press both national and local. The Reformed Church itself has a number of papers; its weekly *Az Ut* (The Way) has a 12,000 edition, the fortnightly *Református Egyház* (The Reformed Church) prints 2,000, and for the work of evangelisation there is the 32-page *Református Krónika* (Reformed Chronicle). There are other similar papers such as the Debrecen *Vasárnap* (Sunday). Two bulletins are also published: the *Church Courier* and *Hungarian Church Press.*

[i.e. Calvin College in Budapest--Analyst]

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Father Richard Horváth.

Both Catholics and Protestants protested to the Security Council against the bombing of civilians in Korea. At the World Peace Congress there were substantial Catholic and Protestant delegations, the Catholic being led by Fr. Horváth and the Protestant by Bishop Péter of Debrecen and Bishop Dezséry of the Lutherans. At the same time the Protestants issued a peace appeal to the Christians of the world; in January the Catholic paper *Uj Ember* (New People) expressed its approval of the Peace Law as did *A Kereszt* (The Cross)* the new weekly paper of the Catholic Priests' Peace Committee and the Lutheran Bishops issued a joint pastoral on Peace.

Recent Developments

Since that time there have been a number of developments of general interest.

In May, 1951, a new law was passed creating a State Office for Church Affairs charged with dealing with all relations between the Churches and the State. No new principle was involved in this measure because the Minister of Education had previously held the responsibility for dealing with such matters. The creation of the new department recognised that the churches were independent and ought not to be confused with questions such as education which were directly the province of the State, and at the same time, by creating a Minister responsible solely for relations between State and Church, it assured that these relations

* Other Catholic periodicals are the bulletin *Magyar-Kurir* (Hungarian Courier) and the monthly *Vigilea*.

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would receive the attention they deserved. The department has since brought the Catholic clergy into the National Insurance scheme and has also facilitated the creation of church co-operative stores for the sale of church literature, vestments and furnishings.

The next development was an unhappy one. The Archbishop of Kalocsa, Jozsef Grösz, who had succeeded Mindszenty in the leadership of the Catholic Church in Hungary, and eight others, were brought to trial, found guilty and sentenced, for continuing the Mindszenty conspiracy. Once again the evidence was overwhelming and the contention of those who had held that Mindszenty and his accomplices had only confessed what they knew the prosecution knew, was abundantly proved when it transpired that Grösz had been entrusted by Mindszenty with the task of continuing his subversive work in the event of his being arrested.

This trial of a second leader of the Catholic Church was obviously a profound shock to the Bench of Bishops and in July, under the presidency of Dr. Czapik, the Archbishop of Eger, they issued unanimously the following statement:

> The Hungarian Bench of Bishops—following the principles of the Catholic faith, and obeying the commands of God, according to which we should be dutiful citizens and respect the laws of the country in which we live, as they do not oblige us to deny the laws of God—make the following statement:—

The Bench of Catholic Bishops ratifies the

793 The Bishops took the oath of allegiance to the Republic and
659 also appealed to parishes to offer some of their church lands to
794 the State. On its side the State also took action and on July 3 the Presidential Council passed a decree, to be retrospective in its effects as far back as January 1, 1946, to the effect that Archbishops, Titular Bishops, Bishops, Suffragan Bishops, Abbots-in-Chief, Abbots and Provincials of Monastic Orders could only be appointed on Hungarian territory with the prior assent of the Presidential Council.

659 The rebuilding of churches has continued steadily and, in
794 addition to that, new churches are being built in the entirely new
[361] towns and villages which are the fruit of Hungary's planned
[214] development. Equally striking is the continued growth of church publications and in this field the appearance of the first volumes both of the Old Testament and of the New, of the new translation of the Bible, a new Hungarian-Greek New Testament dictionary, a new Lutheran Psalter and the first translation into Hungarian of Luther's smaller catechism, are outstanding.

The peace movement within the churches grows all the time. The Catholic Priests' Peace Committee, now officially supported by the Bishops, holds ever larger conferences and now has the support of a majority of the churches. The Protestant Churches constitute more and more a challenge to the present direction of Western Christianity in general and the World Council of Churches in particular.

Bishop Lajos Vető asks all religious people to work for peace.

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Canon Bereszlóczy of Esztergom signs the appeal for a Five-Power Pact of Peace.

Nobody in the West need worry about the future of Hungarian Christianity; it is strong and virile and more than capable of looking after itself. Its relations with the new Hungary are good and it lives and works in complete freedom. It is, however, persistently presenting to the Churches of the West a challenge that has so far passed unanswered, a challenge to take Christianity seriously, to play a part not only in the redemption of individuals but also in the redemption of society and, above all, to remember words that are all too conveniently forgotten—" Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called Sons of God."

871 lish and maintain elementary schools in rural districts. The importance of this was felt most strongly in the Hungarian Prairies where the population is widely scattered in small communities. From these remote districts it was almost impossible for the children to reach the schools, particularly in winter. To help solve this problem residential institutions were opened where the children — mostly of tenant farmers — from scattered farms received board and tuition up to the 8th grade.

875 Lastly, very important steps have been taken to
• 793 adjust the incomes of the teachers and the clergy and to promote their social welfare.

Social Security Insurance.

745 The Hungarian social insurance system is not of
466 recent origin, although its all-embracing reforms and measures have been adopted in the last twenty years. The most remarkable social achievement in Hungary since the war was the enactment of Act XXI in 1927, instituting compulsory sickness and accident insurance. Of far-reaching importance also is Act XL of 1928, which provided for the creation of compulsory insurance covering retirement pensions, disability, and widows' and guardians' benefits. Later the statistical data concerning the persons insured under these acts will be given. To illustrate the historical
[467] background it is sufficient to mention that the miners formed friendly benefit societies as far back as the fifteenth century. In the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century several similar societies were established, which in some branches of production — especially industry and mining — provided some sort of social insurance for their members. In 1891 sickness insurance was made com-

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204 Propoganda and press are closely interwoven in present
208 day Hungary, exerting an ever-increasing political pressure on all phases of post-war reconstruction.

State Versus Religion

659 Until recently both Soviet occupational authorities and the Hungarian Communists have avoided restricting by legislation the country's religious liberty. On the contrary, in order to disarm criticism by religious groups, the coalition government introduced legal measures to restore "the rights of individual communities belonging to accepted and recognized religions which were abolished by earlier Fascist regulations."[34] There has been a definite increase of popular attachment to the Roman Catholic Church which has retained its strong
793 influence on public opinion. The present Catholic leader of Hungary,
659 Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, is very outspoken on moral and national matters and has taken a definite stand on contemporary issues. During the war he protested on several occasions against particular actions of the German and Hungarian Fascists.[35] As Bishop of Veszprém he was repeatedly mistreated by gangs of the Fascist Arrow Cross followers. He severely criticized the land reform which deprived the Church of over half a million acres by limiting all ecclesiastical holdings to less than one hundred acres each. More recently in a letter addressed to the Minister of Justice he complained about the mistreatment of war criminals. As a Catholic leader he continually emphasized his anti-Communist sentiments and his disapproval of the methods and severity of Soviet occupation.

793 Some of Cardinal Mindszenty's close followers recently submitted
661 a plan which would put Hungary's reconstruction on a broader and more democratic basis. This project entails a four-power supervision of the Hungarian Army and police force after the withdrawal of Soviet

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34 Decree 6270/1946 M.E., published June 4, 1946, H.C. 125.

35 In June, 1944, in a joint pastoral circular letter with the then Cardinal Justinian Serédi he stated that: "Precisely now, because we are in this dreadful world war, we are in the greatest need of the help of God. . . . In these very times we see with unutterable sadness that here, in Christian Hungary, successive orders were decreed which are opposed to the laws of God. These edicts have infringed upon, and even totally taken away the inborn rights of a part of our Hungarian fellow-citizens . . . and they are persecuted exclusively on account of their racial origin, without proving their individual crimes, if any, and without the procedure prescribed by law. You also could readily understand the injustice of such action, if you were deprived of your rights in this manner." This pastoral letter was ordered read in every Catholic church in the country. It has recently been published in its full text, in English, as part of a documentary collection of Catholic speeches and statements, *Important Declarations of J. Serédi, Taken From his Pastoral Letters and Speeches Which Refer to Actual Ecclesiastico-Political Questions* (Budapest, 1946), pp. 28-37.

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troops from Hungary. The supervision outlined by the planners would be integrated and general rather than of a zonal character. It is aimed at the armed and police forces of Hungary which are under strict Communist party control at present. Mindszenty's followers also contend that a majority of the people would oppose Communist control with force and that the recent ill-starred plot in Hungary was a mere foretaste of what might come. These members of the small Liberty party and of the formerly dominant Smallholders appealed to London and Washington in the hope of getting "one last opportunity of preventing the establishment of a completely Communist dictatorship in Hungary."[36]

In the past year relations between the Church and State deteriorated rapidly until the Church now stands in open opposition to the government. Catholic youth organizations and many of the parochial schools which constitute sixty percent of all educational institutions were accused of "reactionary and fascist" activities and subsequently closed. Several outstanding Catholic leaders were jailed along with members of the Smallholders majority, and recently determined attempts were made to prevent Cardinal Mindszenty's departure for Rome. Even the relatively free intellectual atmosphere of Budapest has suffered under the impact of these restrictive measures which have created a serious rift between the country's political rulers and its largely Catholic public opinion. Prophetic indeed are the words of a Catholic writer, Jenö Katona: "Hungarian Catholicism is undergoing its most severe historical crisis, its most profound social and political transformation in many centuries. The Church had two fundamental problems, its feudal wealth based on land holdings and its dependence on the secular power of the State. . . . The entire social structure rooted in land-monopoly has now been blasted by outside forces. . After the present conflict subsides the Hungarian Catholic Church will emerge as a new social-minded church, not the representative of a feudal agrarian-capitalism."[37] In the meantime the Church stands *for* connections with Rome and the Western world, *against* Communism and the spread of Soviet domination.

The Economic Reconstruction

A drastic land reform was undoubtedly the most significant step

36 Cf. C. L. Sulzberger, "Hungarians Hope to Avert Red Coup by 4-Power Rule," *The New York Times*, Feb. 16. 1947.

37 Cf. Jenö Katona, "Katolicizmus és politika," "*Valóslag*, March-May, 1946, Vol. II, Nos. 3-5, pp. 42-46. (Translation mine.)

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795 When in 1944 the defeat of Hitler was foreshadowed by
661 the reign of terror which found in the Jew its major victim,
793 the Papal Nuncio in Budapest issued countless "letters of protection" to Jews, enabling them to live in buildings which were the property of the Vatican and therefore entitled to diplomatic immunity. Nor did the Church itself escape paying a heavy price. Although Hungarians suffered less drastically than the Poles or Czechs at the hands of the Nazis many of their priests took the bitter road to Dachau. Others, including two bishops, were incarcerated in Hungarian prisons. During the winter of 1944 the Nazis executed the senior chaplain of the Hungarian Army. When defeat came the priests of Hungary did not flee. Only 12 out of more than 1,200 abandoned their rectories. Witness the death of William Apor, Bishop of Győr. Drunken Soviet soldiers entered his residence and tried to force their way into the cellar, where a number of women were hiding. The Bishop calmly met them face to face, in an effort to pacify them. He died in a fusillade of bullets, but the women were spared.

661 Yet this heroism was destined to earn no earthly reward.
642 After 1945 there ensued instead one of the heaviest-handed enslavements of a people, and one of the direst persecutions of the Christian faith, of which history has record. Though we shall be concerned with the second, let us not forget the first. For the Communist Party the sole important question was how quickly and completely the opposition could be liquidated, regardless of the means or the cost to the population. The Hungarian people struggled to elect a non-Communist government and, despite great difficulties, succeeded. The November, 1945, election resulted in the triumph of the "conservative" opposition. Even after Communist intrigue and machinations forced out of office the government thus chosen, the Communist Party was defeated in the election of August, 1947, obtaining less than 23 per cent of the vote.

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G59 794 libraries, art treasures, and furnishings belonging to the Churches were nationalized by a decree of November 16, 1948, so that none of these could be sold. The Constitution of the People's Democracy, which had been ratified on August 20, proclaimed the separation of Church and State. This meant not only that all the ancient privileges of the Catholic Church were abrogated (for example, the Archbishop of Esztergom had been a member of the Regent's Council), but that in all truth two hostile powers had been established in Hungary: atheistic Communism, able to rely on the full might of the civil authority; and organized religion, able to exist only if it were subsidized by the State and if it remained content not to resist any propagandistic attack to which it was subjected. The sole unanswered question was whether under such conditions the Churches could survive and maintain their integrity. The prostitution of the intellectual had been woeful enough, as everyone knows who has studied the history of professors and clergymen cowed by Hitler. Would spokesmen for Christ now become the docile puppets of a ruthless and irreligious regime?

● 793 687 In a setting thus compounded of frustration and terror there emerged Joseph, Cardinal Mindszenty, and the drama of his opposition and torment, surely the most moving and widely known episode in the Catholic resistance to Communism. It has, however, perhaps not always been understood. When his name first drew notice outside his own country it was besmirched with the propaganda which laid low so much of the world, in that hour grim in its repudiation of Nazism and unwilling to face the dire possibility that Stalinism might conceivably prove to be still more mighty and no less evil. The Cardinal was widely reputed to be a reactionary busybody, a zealous friend and supporter of the Magyars (all of them of course disreputable), a devotee of Hitler, an arch-clerical

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schemer, and above all an anti-Semite. When Béla Fabian published his warmly human biography of the Cardinal in 1949, commemorating the friendship between the Jews of Hungary and the Prince of the Church, one could almost feel the surprise which was enkindled in many minds. Therewith the Communist Party slowly began to lose one of its most vigorously fought propaganda battles. It had every means at its disposal, including an official account of the trial of the Cardinal and his confession, which was translated into many languages. In the end, however, the testimony which the Party itself had provided about the methods of justice employed by its minions was subjected to careful examination in all free countries, and the results of that scrutiny were so conclusive that ever since no one who is not committed body and soul to the Party has believed any accusation levied by a Communist regime against its opponents.

The literature on the Cardinal is extensive, and much of it is very good. It presents a churchman who, despite a measure of physical frailty, had an extraordinarily dynamic and sanguine temperament. He could be relied upon to speak his mind, but the edge was taken off his candor by a sense of humor and a deep and readily communicated interest in the welfare of other human beings. The Cardinal was perhaps not of the intellectual stature of his great predecessor, Cardinal Serédi; but he had literary talent, considerable learning, and energy of mind. His name as we now know it was conferred upon him when he became Bishop of Hungary's most distinguished See and therewith, under the laws of the Regency, a nobleman. Born Joseph Pehm on March 29, 1892, he was of peasant stock, anchored for generations in the soil of western Hungary. He knew the simple people of the villages, their virtues and their weaknesses; and this insight stood him in good stead throughout his trying and absorbing career as a

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793 169 priest. Under the influence of a mother whose memory he would cherish and honor in a book, he proved himself a studious lad. Eventually he prepared for the priesthood, was ordained, and quickly earned a wide reputation as one who combined an ardent concern for the spiritual welfare of his people with a quite personal interest in their earthly well-being. The times through which he had lived as a boy and as a priest were stormy, but he weathered them. He was made an Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary on October 2, 1945.

793 659 A catalogue of the events which tried the soul of this spirited and zealous Prince of the Church would be a lengthy one, indeed. First there appeared, as might have been anticipated, a Communist-inspired "National Church" entrusted with persuading Catholics to sever their ties with Rome and the Vatican. The priests who served this "Church" were a fairly queer lot, who made their first collective public appearance after the Cardinal delivered, on January 20, 1946, an address in honor of St. Margaret, one of the patrons of Hungary. He said in his usual forthright way:

> After a year of bitter suffering, Hungary finally saw the Tartars depart. They did not leave lightheartedly, for they had never enjoyed so much freedom or enjoyed so pleasant a life. Their experiences in Caracorum had been far more trying. There, in accordance with a rule laid down by Genghis Khan, they could neither bathe nor change their clothes. But they went back, because the Great Khan had died. . . . History teaches us that all things on this earth are transitory, even as were the achievements of Genghis Khan, Napoleon and Hitler. Through such men God sends the scourge of many sufferings to the world. When the bony hand of death touches such men, the peoples and the nations breathe once more.

These remarks alluded to St. Margaret's time, but their application to the Russian masters of Hungary was obvious. The

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Communists staged a mammoth parade through the streets of Budapest, demanding the Cardinal's head. The priests of the "National Church" marched in the procession. 783 659

There followed the discovery of a series of alleged conspiracies against the government and the Red Army, each attributed to the instigation of the Cardinal. Both he and his fellow churchmen were kept busy issuing denials. The major import of the charges was that Catholic schools under the tutelage of the religious orders were responsible for the widespread sabotage of the regime. Among the discoverers of plots were divers alumni of such schools who for a variety of reasons, primarily no doubt financial, found it expedient to collaborate with the Communists, even as some of them had previously fished in Nazi waters. On May 20, 1946, Cardinal Mindszenty issued a Pastoral Letter in defense of Catholic and, more generally, of religious education. It was a very frank message, which contained such patently challenging statements as this: "There are some who like to describe the Church as a 'hotbed of reaction.' But those who consider everything Catholic reactionary ought really to look for reaction in places where all liberty is suppressed."

In order to account adequately for the complete candor of such remarks, one must bear in mind that the peace treaty with Hungary was not signed until 1947. It was therefore still possible to hope that the Western Powers would maintain their missions in the country and take steps to insure a modicum of freedom. Unfortunately they would not do so. Meanwhile the Cardinal, who was always a Hungarian patriot, had appealed to the ranking Catholic prelates of the United States and Great Britain for assistance in preventing the expulsion of Hungarian minorities from Czechoslovakia. These unfortunate people were driven out under conditions comparable to those which had attended the casting out of the Sudeten 793 [648]

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793 Germans. Later he denounced quite as vigorously the expulsion of German-speaking minority groups from Hungary. However, as soon as the treaty went into effect, the Cardinal and the Church were left to face the enemy unaided. It had been argued that he should have anticipated the development and adopted a more conciliatory tone; but the evidence garnered in other satellite countries shows that he would merely have made his own lot easier without changing in the least the direction in which the Communist Party was implacably moving.

659 798 795 The first effect of the treaty on religious activities was the subjugation of the Calvinist and Lutheran churches. Lutheran ranks had been seriously depleted by the expulsion of German "ethnic" groups. During the autumn of 1948 Bishop Lajos Ordass, undoubtedly the ablest and most courageous Lutheran leader, was brought to trial and sentenced to two years in prison. The Calvinists, on the other hand, were led intellectually by Dr. Albert Bereczky, who seemingly assented to every demand made by the State. Soon this Hungarian Protestant church heard Bishop Imre Ravecz say that "the most important and significant ordinances of the Hungarian form of society are in complete accord with Holy Writ." These developments were interpreted in some quarters as meaning that whereas the Protestant churches enjoyed complete freedom under Communist rule, the recalcitrant Catholic Church was having a difficult time because of the bigotry and lust for power which characterized its Hierarchy.

795 578 771 As a matter of fact, the Calvinist Church in particular was feeling the knout, not merely in outward persecution but also in inner conflict. Prior to the signing of the treaty and the Communist seizure of the government the dominant group in it was the one that had opposed the Nazis. These men, notably Bereczky, were persuaded that the traditional interdependence

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of Church and State had been evil, and that only separation could advance the cause of the Gospel. The coming of the Communists was interpreted as being in part a punishment visited upon the Church for sin. Drastic reform was therefore needed, and above all missionary effort to bring the masses to a realization of the true meaning of Christian teaching. Yet at the same time the gifted and realistic Bishop László Ravasz pointed out firmly that freedom was possible to the Church only if society recognized the value of freedom and insisted that religious education was a duty no parent could shirk if he hoped to remain a Christian. An ultimatum by the government to the Church, presented during the early months of 1948, resulted in the resignation of Bishop Ravasz as President of the General Synod and as a member of the Hierarchy. The Synod protested against this high-handed action, but in the end Bereczky gained the position of greatest prominence in the Church.

Passing over, for the moment, the situation thus created, we resume the chronicle of the Cardinal. Every new day brought disappointments. The government laid its heavy hand on the schools, the press, and Catholic Action. It induced a group of Catholics, in the name of progress, to promulgate criticism of the Primate. Outwardly it was still possible to pretend that Church and State were seeking agreement. Monsignor Zsigmond Mihalovics, director of Catholic Action in Hungary and later an exile, relates in *Mindszenty, Ungarn, Europa* that he went with a companion to attend a reception in honor of the President of the Republic late in 1947, only to find that Mátyás Rákosi, Secretary-General of the Hungarian Communist Party, was anxious to chat and have his picture taken in the company of Church dignitaries. The Party was still interested in camouflage and, as usual, was proficient in the art.

Events moved swiftly towards a climax during the summer

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●793 of 1947, when the government sponsored a year of commemoration of the Revolution of 1848, which had produced an outburst of heroic liberalism in Hungary. The Cardinal undertook a fateful counteraction. He dedicated the year to Mary, Mother of Christ, and solemnly inaugurated the observance on the Feast of the Assumption. Surrounded by all the country's bishops, he preached a sermon which blended deep anxiety over political and social trends with daring. Asking, "What is our purpose in observing this Year of Our Blessed Lady?" he answered, "We seek only what the deported Hungarians sought in Carlsbad." Three thousand had come together for a Mass on which the Gospel account of Jesus weeping at the sight of Jerusalem was read. He continued:

> We all, every one of us, are deported Hungarians! Even if they have not yet driven us from our homes in the area between the Danube and the Garam, they have nevertheless deported us spiritually. For they have uprooted us from the traditions of a thousand years. Let us go back—back! Not back to Nature, but to That which is above Nature, to those things that are higher which under the banner of dialectical materialism are to be destroyed. Let us return to the world of the Transcendent, the highest peak in which, after God, is God's Mother.

During the weeks that followed, the Cardinal manifested an activity which seemed almost superhuman. Early in September he knelt with 100,000 pilgrims to pray at the ancient shrine of Szombathely. A week later he walked at the head of 100,000 men to the shrine of Maria Remete, some ten miles from Budapest. On September 22 he addressed a vast throng in the Cathedral Square of Eger. In October 100,000 working people assembled in the ruins on the heights above the Capital City. In the subsequent Eucharistic Procession 600,000 people participated. Thus did religious leadership evoke fervor in all corners of the land. It was magnificent, it was moving;

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but the end was bound to be failure, unless, indeed, a miracle occurred. We may well believe that the Cardinal hoped in those days for such a marvel—not one which would summon down a legion of angels from Heaven, but one based on the impact of a united Catholic people, if not on the consciences, then at least on the political calculations of their rulers. But the Russians now entered the scene and grimly ordered the liquidation of the Cardinal.

To be sure, nothing was done precipitously. On January 10, 1948, Rákosi spoke for the Communist Party. He declared that nothing could be more desirable than an agreement between Church and State, but that the conduct and attitude of the Church made it impossible. That had, he said, become the cloak under which reaction plied its subversive trade. Its leaders were openly hostile to the new order. They had repudiated the noble traditions of 1848 by organizing a rival observance. They were opposed to land reform, to the Three Year Plan, and to peace. On February 15, Cardinal Mindszenty addressed an assembly at St. Stephen's Academy in Budapest, citing a number of Papal Encyclicals on peace to make the Church's position clear.* However, some of the quotations made could be easily interpreted as comments on the mentality and methods of the Communist Party. They were so understood. The Ministry of the Interior forbade the publication of the text of this address. Measures were taken in rapid succession to curb the Catholic press, to undermine Catholic charities, and to prepare the way for the transfer of all schools to the State.

Then occurred what is usually known as the tragedy of Pocspetri. On June 1 the pastor of this little town of 2,000 souls in eastern Hungary, acting on a request from the As-

* Texts of this and other addresses are conveniently assembled in *Cardinal Mindszenty Speaks: Authorized White Book* (New York, 1949).

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659 sociation of Teachers, called the parents of his congregation
793 together to vote on whether the schools should be removed
661 from the jurisdiction of the Church. Two pads of paper were placed on the table, one for affirmative and the other for negative votes. All four hundred parents voted No. Two days later, the village council met to consider the same question. Rumors coursed through the town to the effect that the vote cast by the parents was to be nullified, and quickly an excited crowd gathered round the town hall, demanding that the will of the people be respected. The police were sent for, and they ordered the crowd to disperse. One officer drew his revolver and threatened to shoot. Thereupon a citizen named Kiralyfalvi entered the fray; there was a scuffle, and the policeman lay dead.

793 The pastor, Father Aszalos, seems not to have been present
637 when the shooting occurred. Nevertheless he became the central figure in a highly theatrical trial designed to prove that he and the "reactionary Hierarchy" were responsible for the incident. First the poor priest was taken, together with Kiralyfalvi and other villagers to the notorious prison maintained by the secret police at Andrássy ut 60, Budapest. The trial was then conducted without benefit of defense counsel. To the great surprise of nearly everyone—including, it is said, the officials of the Ministry of the Interior—Father Aszalos pleaded guilty. Indeed he went on to say that the real culprits were his religious superiors, who were always stirring up opposition to the government. Left to himself, he added, he would never have argued against the secularization of education. Nevertheless he was guilty because he had failed to heed his own conscience. The sentence of death imposed by the court was changed later to life imprisonment.

659 The observance of the Holy Year continued, despite stead-
796 ily mounting obstacles, into the summer of 1948. It had be-

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come necessary to secure the approval of the government for each pilgrimage, and most gatherings were surrounded by cordons of police. On June 13 many tens of thousands gathered in Budapest to participate in devotions honoring Our Lady of Fatima. Someone called for a cheer in honor of the absent Cardinal. The crowd responded. Police cars thereupon appeared, and the throng was attacked and dispersed. Many persons were arrested; some were deported to labor camps. This pattern was followed thenceforth, so that the year of devotion petered out in fear, dispersal, and helplessness. It was obvious that the Communists had been neither impressed nor cowed.

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Cardinal Mindszenty had every reason to suppose that action would soon be taken against him. On November 18 he issued his last Pastoral Letter, defending the celebrations in honor of the Blessed Virgin and making a profession of faith. It stated:

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> Two of my predecessors were killed in action, two were robbed of all their possessions, one was taken prisoner and deported, one was assassinated. The greatest of them all went into exile. Karoly Ambrus visited and nursed the plague-stricken and himself died of their disease.
>
> Of all my predecessors, however, none was as devoid of all means as I am. So systematic and so adroit a net of propaganda untruths—lies disproved a hundred times and yet repeated a hundred times—was never spun round any of my seventy-eight precursors in office. I stand for God, the Church, and Hungary. This responsibility has been placed on me as a result of the fate which has been meted out to our nation, standing now alone, an orphan in the world. When what happens to me is compared with the sufferings of my people, it is seen to be of trifling consequence.

A brave man, sometimes impetuous but always zealously mindful of duty and of love, was going by reason of the might of evil into his own Gethsemane.

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On the day after Christmas, 1948, a van of police cars moved from Andrássy ut 60 to Esztergom to arrest the Cardinal. The sixteen officers armed with light automatic rifles carried out the mission assigned to them. The Cardinal took leave of his aged mother, having scribbled on the back of an envelope the now famous words: "I have taken no part in any conspiracy of any kind. I shall not resign from my episcopal See. I shall not make a confession. But if despite what I now say you should read that I have confessed or resigned, and even see it authenticated by my signature, bear in mind that it will have been only the result of human frailty. In advance, I declare all such actions null and void." On the following day it was announced to the world that the Cardinal was in prison.

Stephen K. Swift has made a careful study of available reports concerning the treatment meted out to the Cardinal while he was in the hands of his jailers, and this can be followed in detail in his memorable book, *The Cardinal's Story*. Because certain of the officers who witnessed the events managed to escape from Hungary and relate what they had observed of interrogation methods learned in Moscow, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the reports. These also corroborate what has been learned of Russian methods through victims who have escaped from other parts of the Russian-controlled world. It is therefore no matter for wonder that the Cardinal signed a confession. Indeed, as we shall see, he could proudly have attested to many things of which he stood accused. But the captors managed to break his spirit and make him say that he regretted what he had done. This ominous success gained by the interrogators, even if we had no other reason for opposing the Communist system with all the strength and ingenuity we can muster, would suffice to rouse the conscience of the world as it once did against Nazism: the successful employment of science to crush the soul of a human being and make him gain-

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say everything that has been dearest to the core of his heart during all his life. 793 687

The Cardinal was tried in the company of men deemed to have been his accomplices in a great conspiracy against the government. All pleaded guilty. Witnesses to the trial beheld a spectacle oddly reminiscent of the Reichstag Fire trials in Berlin during 1933, with the sinister difference that then even Göring could not intimidate the Court. Béla Fabian has pointed out the curious fact that those who conducted the trial of the Cardinal were former Nazis. The President, Dr. Vilmos Olti, had served the Hungarian Hitlerites even as he now served the Communists; and the leader of the prison interrogators, Dr. Martin Bodonyi, had worked for Nazi military tribunals under another name. The defense counsel assigned to the case had, however, been a member of the Communist Party since the days of Béla Kun. 793 687 695 [633]

Questions and answers succeeded each other much as they must have in the fearful prison. On the morning of February 8, 1949, the verdict was read:

"Joseph Mindszenty, the first accused, is sentenced herewith . . . to the cumulative penalty of penal servitude for life as the main penalty, to ten years' loss of office and ten years' suspension of political rights; further, the confiscation of all his property as supplementary punishment."

The charges against the Cardinal were circulated prior to the trial itself in an official *Yellow Book*, and the government subsequently issued a *Black Book* giving its version of the proceedings. The more carefully one reads these volumes, the greater one's astonishment is likely to be. We may discount in advance all the allegations which are known to have no foundation in fact. What is to be said of those which are probably true? A relatively minor charge is that certain sums of money obtained from abroad for Church purposes were not trans-

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ferred at the official rate. For these derelictions the Cardinal accepted full responsibility and offered to make restitution, though he personally could have had nothing to do with them. At best they would have merited a small fine levied against the Archiepiscopal treasury. The second charge, and no doubt the most important, was that prior to the signing of the treaty of peace the Cardinal had endeavored to win the support of the Western Powers. This he was clearly entitled to do, in the legal sense; and morally he was under the obligation to make every effort to maintain civil and religious rights as he understood them. It was true that he had clung desperately to his belief that the United States would not permit the Russians to acquire unilateral rule over Hungary—a hope he shared with millions of other Hungarian citizens, and indeed with foreigners of every creed and persuasion who happened to be in Hungary at that time. In declaring that such beliefs constituted conspiracy against the State, the Prosecutor argued and the Court upheld the view that desiring anything short of complete Russian control was incompatible with the Constitutional provision that full liberty of opinion, speech, and assembly was assured.

One special charge was that the Cardinal had indirectly approached American authorities handling restitution claims in order to urge that the Crown of St. Stephen be sent to the Vatican to be held in trust there. Here he was daring but still prudent. Undoubtedly he had very good reason to fear that the Crown, most illustrious symbol of Hungary's past, would be shipped to Russia as soon as it was returned to Budapest. His maneuver was certainly not complimentary to the Communists; but they were bound by the Occupation Statute and later by the treaty of peace, which went into effect on September 15, 1947. The Cardinal's correspondence concerning the Crown antedates the treaty. Yet even this obliges the Hungarian government to respect Article 2, which reads:

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1. Hungary shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion, and of public meeting.

2. Hungary further undertakes that the laws in force in Hungary shall not, either in their content or in their application, discriminate or entail any discrimination between persons of Hungarian nationality on the ground of their race, sex, language, or religion, whether in reference to their persons, property, business, professional or financial interests, status, political or civil rights, or any other matter.

Never has a peace treaty contained fairer pledges. Unfortunately there exists no sanction against their violation save a rebuke before the forum of the United Nations. Such a rebuke was of course administered.

The charge which laid the Cardinal most seriously open to criticism was that as a Monarchist he had conspired to bring about a Restoration, had conferred with the Pretender to the Throne, and had relied upon American intervention to achieve his aims. The testimony on these matters presented at the trial and outlined in the *Black Book* is confused; nor did the Cardinal receive an opportunity to comment on the accusations in any adequate or sustained way. He admitted that he was a Legitimist, that he had hoped the Regency would be succeeded by a Monarchy, and that at the request of Otto of Habsburg he had conferred with him while visiting the United States during 1947. These things did not constitute conspiracy against the State, and would indeed be permissible within the framework of a relatively democratic society. Whether reestablishing the Monarchy was in any sense practicable, whether it was the form of government best suited to Hungary, and whether the population of the country would

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793 have voted in favor of a Restoration are, to be sure, matters
695 one could debate at length. But that discussion has no bearing
687 on the issue that the Cardinal had conspired to plunge the nation into civil war and thus impose a solution by force.

A number of able jurists of varied confessional and political points of view have carefully reviewed the trial procedures. There is none of repute in the free world who has not held that the trial was a farcical travesty of justice.*

793 And so the Cardinal, indefatigable leader of his Church
687 and of his people, entered through a narrow gate of infamy and pain the desert of penitential tribute to the power of iniquity. The ancient secret, that of the *mysterium iniquitatis*, the mystery of evil, was his to meditate upon even as hermits and martyrs, sages and great sufferers, the wise and the humble since the dawn of time had pondered it in times past. No doubt all he had to uproot from his heart were some vestiges of pride in his natural abilities and in his holy office—the pride he had sloughed off, surely, in the bitter days when he may well have asked the question which was on the lips of his Master, why God had forsaken him, and why he had been so grievously scourged for the sins of his time. They had humiliated him far beyond any boundaries which are set for humility to traverse. They had proved that theirs were the battalions and the torturers, the makers of decrees and the profiteers of power. The Archbishop of Esztergom, Prince of the Church and member of the Regent's Council, had become

[693] * The trial of the Cardinal was directed by László Rajk, Minister of the Interior, who during September, 1949, was accused not only of having attempted to overthrow the Hungarian government and assassinate its principal officials but of espionage in behalf of the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Yugoslavia. In short, Rajk was on trial for emulating Marshal Tito. Seven others were indicted as his accomplices. All were placed in confinement for some time previous to the convening of the Court. Testimony was introduced purporting to prove association with divers representatives of foreign powers. Nearly all of these have vehemently denied the allegations. Three death sentences were handed down and carried out. One victim was Rajk himself.

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a convict devoid of honor or name, uncertain even whether he was looked upon throughout the world as a man who had betrayed his trust. No one could tell him that in his worst hour simple people were praying that the Lord God might have mercy on him—praying throughout Hungary, which he may have loved too well even as some other men love their wives unduly. The world into which he went from his trial was a world without prayer or peace. God had departed from it. One cannot avoid saying that. It was become a world in which endless shifts of prisoners move out of the gray dawn into the even grayer dusk, and it was necessary that it have in its midst a man stripped naked. It needed Job in the red hat of a Cardinal.*

After the condemnation of its most resourceful and courageous Christian leader, Hungary could no longer muster anyone to lead the resistance. During August, 1950, the Catholic Bishops signed an agreement with the government similar in every significant respect to that which the Bishops of Czechoslovakia had signed. Despite it Cardinal Mindszenty's successor was arrested and haled before a court. A "Peace Movement" was formed among the clergy; and though at first only a few elected to join it, these gave it enthusiastic support. On October 23, 1951, for example, the Budapest Radio announced that a meeting of the "reconstituted Board" of the movement had been held, at which Bishop Beresztocsky, the

* The fate of the Cardinal in imprisonment has been described by eyewitnesses who may be assumed to be reliable. Congenital frailty, and not mistreatment in prison, is responsible for his poor health. He has been permitted to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, although in complete isolation. Two visits from his mother have been permitted, and he has seen the Archbishop of Eger and the Bishop entrusted with the care of Catholics according to the Greek rite. Hungarian sources indicate that he has not been deported but is at Hüvösvölgy Prison in Budapest. There is no information as to views which the Cardinal may have expressed to his visitors, but all sources agree that he has been treated without undue harshness, and that the principal rigors of prison life are self-imposed.

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chairman, reviewed the progress of the peace movement throughout the world, and lauded Stalin as the foremost enemy of war. Meanwhile the clergy of Hungary had also been called upon to sign an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. The great majority of priests complied during January, 1950, making the usual reservation that they pledged themselves to nothing that was antithetical to the Catholic faith.

Archbishop Jozsef Grőcz, successor to the Cardinal, attempted as best he could to guide the ship of the Church through the waters of persecution. Nevertheless during the summer of 1951 he and several other members of the Hierarchy—Bishops Andreas Hamvas, Joseph Petery, and Luigi Shvoy—were arrested. The subsequent trial, in which a number of less prominent clergymen also were the accused, offered a new version of the ordeal of the Cardinal. No doubt the major reason for this spectacle was the declaration of the Bishops that any service they rendered to the cause of "peace" was of a moral and religious character only, with no political significance. Archbishop Grőcz was sentenced to imprisonment on June 28, and a new series of assaults upon the Church ensued. A few days later, the remnant of the Hierarchy signed a profession of loyalty to the government. This in turn decreed that no one could validly hold office as a bishop, abbot, or provincial unless the State had approved his appointment. Indeed, even those who had assumed their offices after January, 1946, were declared subject to the same regulation. Religious orders were dissolved, and priests who had incurred excommunication by membership in the "Peace Movement" were appointed to important pastorates. Many priests and monks were deported to slave-labor camps. Under the pressure thus exerted, the bishops who still had freedom and the Abbot of Hungary's largest monastery took the oath of allegiance. Some of them even went

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inal assumption—namely, that every Christian will realize that Stalinism is incompatible with Christianity—to be false. At any rate, in a private letter to Bereczky dated September 16, 1951, he wrote, "It seems to me that you are on the way toward making your affirmation of Communism a part of the Christian message." This would, of course, be the same error of which the German Christian Movement had been guilty under Hitler.

At any rate, the Protestant Churches in their turn were compelled to negotiate an agreement with the government, accepting the whole of the Communist program dealing with finances, education, and the appointment of clergymen and other Church dignitaries. When Bishop Ravasz resigned in protest, the Calvinist Synod attempted to elect a worthy man to be his successor. The government refused to endorse the choice, and finally succeeded in gaining acceptance for Pastor Roland Kiss, well known as friendly to the Communist position. Only a few indications of the extent to which infamy and outrage prevailed thereafter can be adduced here. The grossest kind of interference in the work of the pastorate was resorted to, so that in the end notorious and criminal Communists were installed in ecclesiastical offices, while worthy churchmen were dismissed, deported, and imprisoned. Only eight Church schools survived the drive for the nationalization of education. Relief and welfare organizations were forbidden; and the press was reduced to impotence by censorship and suppression. Toward the close of 1951, two theological seminaries were closed. Even more dire, if that be possible, was the fate of the small Lutheran minority. Its leaders were hounded, ousted from office and imprisoned.

By the close of 1951, civil and religious liberties were extinguished in Hungary to an extent which the Cardinal himself could hardly have foreseen. Virtually everyone who had oc-